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题目: The Reversal of Gender Inequalities in  
Enrollment in Higher Education in Cape  
Verde

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**The Reversal of Gender Inequalities in Enrollment in Higher  
Education in Cape Verde**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Higher education is nowadays the main driver of development of knowledge, science and hence, the wellbeing of various people in different countries. On the other hand, gender inequalities represent a delay toward this status. Gender inequalities have been proven to be a great barrier to the development of the full human being's potential and if it manifests in education, their effect will be worse.

This research paper seeks to determine what drives the reversal of gender inequalities in enrollment in higher education in Cape Verde. The paper outlines the struggles for a more equal society and look for different reasons behind this phenomenon.

This study has brought out some barriers that interfere with an equal enrollment in that level of Education. The objective of this study is to raise awareness about the need to change the positive measures related to girls, and use some of them to encourage boys in the education field because they are lagging behind in all levels of education.

**Key Words:** Gender, Higher education, Inequalities, Cape Verde

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## **Dedication**

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## ACRONYMS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIGEF	Centre of Research and Formation for Gender and Family
HE	Higher education
ICIEG	Institute for Gender Equality and Gender Equity
INE	National Institute of Statistics
MED	Ministry of Education and Sports
MESCI	Ministry of Higher education, Science and Innovation of Cape Verde
MDGs	Millennium Development Goal
MPD	Movement for Democracy
OMCV	Organization of Cape Verdean Women
PAICV –	African Party of Independence of Cape Verde
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNI-CV	University of Cape Verde
UNICA	Intercontinental University of Cape Verde
WB	World Bank

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Research Background

If you plan for a year, plant a seed. If for ten years, plant a tree. If for a hundred years, teach the people. When you sow a seed once, you will reap a single harvest. When you teach the people, you will reap a hundred harvests. (7th century BC, Chinese philosopher Guan Zhong).

The adage above shows that if we are preparing for the future, the best way is to teach or give educational opportunities to mankind. Education became the most important factor in the development of any country surpassing any other natural endowments. Most African countries can be used as paradigmatic examples, including Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and so on, if we compare with South Korea, Singapore and Netherland.

Cape Verde is one African country that has been trying, with some success, to put this adage in practice. This assertion results that the country has one of the best rates in Education<sup>1</sup> in all sub-Saharan Africa since they took the independence from Portugal in 1975. The good results of the country can be emphasized if we took the government estimates that when the country took independence, almost 67% of the population was illiterate. At that time (independence) the lack of cadres was one of the big challenges for the leaders. And from that period the investment in HE started with partnerships with some countries that supported the country in the struggle for independence through scholarships given by friendly countries.

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<sup>1</sup> The Human Development Report of 2015 from UN put the country in the group of the countries with medium human development at the position 122. Is the fourth African country in that document.

In one interview<sup>2</sup>, the first Minister of Education, Carlos Reis, recalled that in the academic year 1977/1978, which was two years after national independence, there were already around 500 young people who were studying abroad. "Of these, more than half enjoyed scholarship and the other half studying on their own," he said. Most of the students went to socialist countries such as Cuba and eastern European countries.

Since independence, successive governments spared no effort to ensure that the country can currently boast a remarkable reputation in sub-Saharan Africa in relation to education indicators. Having been challenged by the United Nations, the country has fulfilled all the objectives of the Millennium Educational Area.

Cape Verdean scholars (Carneiro, 1988; Varela, 2011) situated the rise of higher education in Cape Verde from 1979, during the establishment of the training Course for Secondary School Teachers (CFPES) in the city of Praia, which later gave rise to the formation of Secondary school teachers (EFPES). This happened due to the need to ensure the quality and sustainability of secondary education, due, on the one hand, the effective generalization of primary and, on the other, the need to promote greater access to higher education, aimed at the formation of cadres that lacked the country in various areas. Brito (2001) states that the successive training activities in the 70s in the medium level or the upper level were determined by "certain situations". A large number of cadres in the various areas of knowledge, who were pressed by the urgent challenges of development that the emerging country clamored, were formed at random.

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<sup>2</sup> Part of a interview conceded by Carlos Reis to a national Newspaper, *A Nação*, celebrating the Forty Years of the Independence of Cape Verde, ed. 427, November, 2015

A new phase of higher education as a system starts with the appearance of private institutions and with the creation of Universities (before that period establishment was set up with a certain specialization<sup>3</sup>). In the year 2001 in the city of Praia, the first private University began with their activities. The country presently still sends part of their young people to study abroad while they now have ten (10) higher education institutions. Five of them are designated by a Higher Institute and the other five are universities. The biggest one is the public university (University of Cape Verde born in 2006) with about five thousand students. Data from the Annual Reports of (MESCI 2013/14) said that more than 22% of the Cape Verdean youth (cohort 18 to 24 years old) are studying in one of the ten HE institutions.

The government believes that it is necessary to continue sending students abroad<sup>4</sup> because the country has to give formation to the teachers of higher education Institutions and also because it is needed to give international perspective to the youth.

It is evident that the country is investing a lot in their youth because more than 1/3 of the students in HE have some kind of support<sup>5</sup> from the government. The 2010 census data show a strong increase of higher education in Cape Verdean population. The population with higher education in Cape Verde has quintupled in the last ten years, from 4423, in 2000, to 23431, in 2010. So, in 2010, the number of people with higher education accounted for 5.1% of the population with 3 or more years old and 7.7% of the active population.

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<sup>3</sup> Varela, Bartolomeu Lopes. 2013, *Evolução do Ensino Superior Público em Cabo Verde: Da Criação do Curso de Formação de Professores do Ensino Secundário à Instalação da Universidade Pública*, Edições Uni-CV.

<sup>4</sup> According to Annual Report of MESCI in 2011 Cape Verde have around 6000 students abroad.

<sup>5</sup> World Bank, 2012, *Construindo o Futuro: Como é que o Ensino Superior Pode Contribuir Para a Agenda de Transformação Económica e Social de Cabo Verde*

The biggest beneficiaries of all this change in the features of the education sector of the population are women. The current data (INE) says that we now have 10% of females with higher education level and 7.7 % of males with that level in a total of 8.8 % of the Cape Verdean population (active population). The table below better explains the current state of attainment in the Cape Verde education system.

**Table 1 - Education level of the population by Sex and for Per cent (2010- 2013)**

	Are attending or have ever attended						
	Never attended	Preschool	Literacy	Basic Education	High School	Baccalaureate	Tertiary Education
<b>2010</b>	12.9	4.6	1.7	41.4	32.7	1.0	5.1
<b>2012</b>	9.3	3.2	1.4	44.4	33.7	1.3	6.7
<b>2013</b>	8.5	3.3	1.5	42.5	35.3	1.7	7.2
<b>Cape Verde</b>	<b>8.3</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>44.7</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>8.8</b>
Sex							
<b>Male</b>	5.1	3.7	1.1	46.4	40.4	0.7	7.7
<b>Female</b>	11.4	3.0	2.4	42.9	40.3	1.4	10.0
Residence							
<b>Urban</b>	6.2	3.1	1.4	40.8	41.5	1.3	11.9
<b>Rural</b>	12.3	3.9	2.5	52.8	37.9	0.4	2.4

Source: Statistical yearbook 2015 (INE)

This growing and surpassing of the number of girls in comparison with boys in education shows that the country is facing a reversal of the gender gap in this sector. It's believed that the parity happened in the second period of the 90's and starts surpassing in the beginning of the new century. The research made by Varela (2013) shows a certain gender balance until the beginning of new century. Varela's research includes the period of almost 30 years of training secondary school teachers, initiated by Secondary School Teachers Training Course (CFPES) and pursued by ISE and Uni-CV (until 2008). In this research, the number of graduates by these institutions is 2508 with 1196

females and 1313 males. However, if we count that in the year 2000<sup>6</sup>, the number of students by sexes were 373 girls and 344 boys- nearly equal, but in the past, the imbalance was favoring the boys. In Cape Verde, gender issues is in order of the day. Traditionally, men had been dominating most of the public spaces of the Cape Verdean society. The domination of the males over females in our society is resulted of the cultural values that the society receives as a heritage from the colonization period.

According to Filho (1996), during the formation of the Cape Verdean society, which was heavily influenced by Portugal law and customs, the 'elite class', i.e., the white men violated some of them. These customs or laws included the idea that having intimate relations outside of your marriage was against the law. Many of the elitist men had relations outside their marriage, going against the law, even though they were expected to abide by it since they were from Portugal. The violation of these social norms created certain imbalances and maladjustments (compared, for example, the European societies). These imbalances are detected more easily observed from outsiders than insiders. Inwardly, then, the issue almost becomes normal, but outsiders can see the problem, as in the Cape Verde society where in whole or in large part, peacefully accepted a married man cohabiting with one or more women outside his marriage.

Amílcar Cabral<sup>7</sup> in relation to that referred aspect (cited in Gomes, 2011) said that women were "... doubly oppressed: the husband and the colonial system.

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<sup>6</sup> Women and Men in Cape Verde: Number and Facts 2012 available online in <http://www.ine.cv/actualise/publicacao/files/1103929942013Mulheres%20e%20Homens%20em%20Cabo%20Verde.pdf>

<sup>7</sup> Amílcar Cabral is the Cape Verdean national hero. He was an agronomist, leader of African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. One of the most respected leaders of the independence struggles in Africa. His book *Unity and Struggle* is studied today as a form of cultural resistance to colonialism and other way of foreign domination. In his leadership process in the

So, to participate in the struggle for independence of their country, African women also fought for the recovery of African values, culture and its identity". Gomes (2011) argues that in the family, women should be obedient to parents, spouses and children. The weight of tradition and the Church was strong, and many women believed that they were born with a stroke of fate which they could not escape; procreate, obey and suffer. The women lived and worked in the house, while men lived and worked outside. Some women accepted, with much resignation, her situation and even ignored the idea that it someday could be reversed. This vision is shared and reinforced by Bastide (cited in Silva & Fortes, 2012) where he said that black slave women underwent a triple domination, of race by the fact of being black; caste, being slave (plus reproductive labor); and sex, being a woman in a regime where exercising hegemony is a man job. Domination was also increased by beliefs of the Catholic tradition.

With the participation of women in the struggle for independence and the vision of the new leadership of the country after independence, the status of women changed a lot.

In the first constitution (1980), it included the equal rights between men and women<sup>8</sup>. Since the independence, the enrollment in primary school was open to boys and girls equally. And with the creation of OMCV (created in 1981 by women whom participated in the struggle for independence) the capacity of organizing and mobilizing women for educational, health, sexual and reproductive purposes increased exponentially. With the advocacy of

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struggle for independence he always emphasizes the importance of investing in education to give knowledge to the people and to get out from the ignorance.

<sup>8</sup> Just to exemplify in the colonial period a married woman to travel abroad or to exercise any economic activity she would need a written authorization from her husband. With the independence this formality and others was eliminated with a creation of New Family Code.



OMCV, the government of that period set up free family planning services to facilitate reproductive health services (this measure remain until now). The work of OMCV can be considered as a great factor in the improvement of women's life in the country as well as their contribution in downsizing the number of illiterates among adult women and the seeking for more attention for the economic empowerment using micro-credit and the opening of kindergarten to the whole country. Another important factor was the creation of the Institute of Feminine Condition, later, becoming ICIEG. With Institute of Feminine Condition as a state organization, the aim was to put in place a governmental mechanism that takes care of the design and monitoring of policies for equality and equity between men and women. These measures and the advocating by feminists show how the discrimination of women was downsizing in the Cape Verdean society, but the truth is that we have a long way to go to have true parity. It is evident now that in higher education the reversal of gender inequalities in enrollment in detriment of boys is present and this paper aims to understand the reasons of this phenomenon. In our opinion, the change aforementioned can transform the nature of the relation between the two sexes. This work wants to contribute to a more understanding of this shift and giving some insights to a big comprehension of the gender issues in Cape Verde. Surprisingly, the widening gender gap in higher education has raised far less public and political concern than that of the lack of women in power positions. Yet, the numbers are astonishing.

## 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Higher education plays a key role in shaping society and building active and creative citizens. A lot of the people who will take powerful roles in a society have a background in higher education. This implies that a gender equal higher education has also an enormous long term impact on the gender equality within the society. That requires that the access, frequency and success of that level are shared equally in the society.

Higher education is becoming a place that the women are conquering every day, not just as a teacher or leader<sup>9</sup> but in the access, frequency, degree award and predominance of young girls (female students). In 2011/12 the number of women participating in higher education was 140 for each 100 men<sup>10</sup>. The data of the Ministry of Higher Education for 2013/2014 (the last available) is around 146 girls for 100 boys.

The gender policies in the country are centered in protecting girls and women from the gender based violence, for advocating to more women in political or decision making position and it is neglecting the imbalance that is happening in education sector more concretely where the number of girls outnumbers boys. Therefore the study attempts to address the following questions:

- 1) What drives more girls than boys in the enrollment when it comes to higher education in Cape Verde?

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<sup>9</sup> Two years ago the Rector (Judite Nascimento) of Public University (Uni-CV) was elected in elections that have been participated by two women candidate and the Rector in exercise at that period (a man). In that elections could participate as voters' students, employers and professors of different level. Another leader of one Higher education institution (Lusófona University) is Iva Cabral is a researcher of our history and daughter of the national historical leader, Amílcar Cabral. The heads of others institutions are men.

<sup>10</sup> Annual Report of the Minister of Higher education, Science and Innovation (2011/2012), Praia

- 2) Would investing more in higher education of girls give to them more opportunities and more economic independence from their future husbands?
- 3) What are the family choices in terms of the supporting for HE with more investment in girls than in boys?

### 1.3 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

Following the central question of this research, the researcher intends to bring into debate about the gender imbalance in enrollment in higher education and the impacts that these changes have in the students that are attending this level of learning.

We want to persuade the government and the all cape Verdean about the need to invest in education for both sexes in all level and to give special attention to the failure of boys that is happening during all phases of our Education system.

We want to appeal to policy makers to have a better attention about possible imbalance in the implementation of policies and not just to follow the orientation of international organizations and funds.

We are afraid that each day the higher education becomes a feminine field what is not good for creating a society where equality and equity is not just a speech.

#### 1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study wants to give one insight about the very fast change that the Cape Verdean society are going through in one of the most important sector of the development that is Higher education.

This paper wants to highlight the imbalance that is happening in our Education system with a view more centered in higher education. This work can also be a kind of attention calling because in my point view and from some interviewed, no action is put in place to balance the enrollment and frequency in the HE. With inaction of the States, scholars, NGO's and civil society we all are contributing to have an unequal society because we are in a risk of the HE transform in women field.

It can contribute with the sharing view of the students about the changes they are facing in this level and give us perspectives about the expectations of the Cape Verdean youth about their future.

This work can serve as reference, for policy makers and scholars about the directions that our Education system is taken, and the need to trace new goals to have a society with more just distribution of education between the two sexes.

## 1.5 METHODOLOGY

The research method is a qualitative research approach with collection and analyzes the existing data and interviews with personalities that are or have been in a leadership position such as the president of Network of Women Parliamentarians of Cape Verde, president of the White Ribbon Network, the Director of the Service of Access to the Higher Education and some scholars that are interested in this topic. Besides of that, we did some interviews with teachers that are teaching in the secondary level about the reasons of underachievement of the boys in their point of view. The interviews were semi-directed to give the interviewers the opportunity to express their point of view.

We carried out interviews with a sample of hundred and ten (110) students (almost 1% of all students in the HE system as the Annual Report of MESCI of 2011) to understand their views of inequalities in the role of the sexes, as well about gender issues and the expectations that they have for their future.

We also base on secondary data sources of information that is reviewing existing information on gender issues in Cape Verde. We look into the data presented in books, journals, articles, reports published by the Center of Investigation and Formation in Gender and Family (CIGEF), ICIEG, INE, UNESCO, WB and others related to organizations that can help to analyze this issue and give a better understanding of this topic. All information gathered will be analyzed in qualitative terms and findings presented in the subsequent chapters towards the achievement of the objective of this study. The qualitative approach in our perspective will offer us a better understanding and appreciation of the phenomenon. The research choice of a qualitative method result of the lack of time and resources to do a more

broad research. We believe too that qualitative method would help us to better understanding the behavior and the perceptions that drive it with reference of this specific topics or issues. In our opinion, this method is more appropriated since our focus are trying also to understand perceptions and attitudes of students, related to their own choices but essentially toward a changes in society that can influence their lives and the all society. In analyzing, the researcher will try to understand the views of the male students with the female's students trying to show where their opinions are similar as well where they are different. We believe that this way of working is appropriate to give us insights of the two groups about the reason that are making more girls than boys to enroll in Tertiary Education.

We will analyze the vision of the scholars that have been working in genders issue trying to understand their view about the trends that we have and the changes that we can expect to happen in the near future. This approach is more sociological and educational, in our view, and is more suitable in a troubled period as elections<sup>11</sup>.

## 1.6 DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

In the lines below we will give short definitions of some terms that we believe are essential in guiding this work.

### **Higher Education**

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<sup>11</sup> The research happened in the pre-elections period what didn't help much because the state of euphoria and uncertainty the country was living.

The Cape Verdean Basic Law of the Education System (2010) defined in its first paragraph that “Higher education comprises university education and polytechnic education”.

## **Gender**

According with Lerner (1990) gender is the cultural definition of conduct perceived as gender-appropriate in a given society and a specific time. The gender is a series of cultural roles. It's a cover, a mask, a straitjacket in which men and women dance their uneven dance.

Gender in my point of view is a lived categorization and matter that leads to the identification of certain people considering them as belonging to a homogeneous whole. Gender is a socio-cultural construct that normalizes the behaviors expected from men and women. The difference of sex, which is given, gender is constructed, it implies the development of an identity more or less awareness of it. Gender also conceptualizes how sex is seen and lived in a given culture.

## **Gender Equity**

Refer to fair treatment for men and women, because they are human being. In some point of view this fairness will leads to equality.

## **Gender Equality**

Gender Equality refers to the allocation of resources, opportunities, support and encouragement without any discrimination on the basis of biology, between men and women. (...) Today the concept of equality acknowledges that different treatment of women and men may sometimes be required to

achieve sameness of results, because of the different life conditions or to compensate for past discrimination<sup>12</sup>.

### **Gender Gap**

This term is often used to refer to difference in the scores between men and women on attitudes, interests, behaviors, knowledge and perspectives on particular issues such as policy preferences and voting preferences<sup>13</sup>.

### **Gender Roles**

These are clusters of socially or culturally defined and learned expectations about how people will behave in specific situations. Thus, social definitions of masculine or feminine roles, will determine what behaviors that person will exhibit at a given time. Gender roles are usually created out of over simplified beliefs that males and females possess distinct physical and psychological characteristics<sup>14</sup>.

**Gender Stereotypes** is an over-simplified and standardized definition of a group of people in which all members are categorized with similar characteristics. Normally is limited by the traditional roles.

**Sex** either the male or female division of a species, especially as differentiated with reference to the reproductive functions<sup>15</sup>. A human being is male or female regardless his or her class, age, race or ethnicity.

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<sup>12</sup> A Toolkit for Mainstreaming Gender in Higher education in Africa available online in [http://www.ungei.org/resources/files/Toolkit\\_complete.pdf](http://www.ungei.org/resources/files/Toolkit_complete.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/sex?s=t>



## 1.7 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The research paper is divided into six chapters. The first chapter includes the introduction part which contains the background part, and an overview of the country, the statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, methodology, definition of terms and the structure. The definitions of terms we believe that are very important to understand the all work.

The second chapter comprises of the literature review and brief insights about the condition of women in the country.

The third chapter will make an analysis of the current situation of the higher education in terms of gender. We will talk about the different choice of areas the students did in terms of sexes. We will show the differences in terms of the numbers of students by sex at the different levels of higher education. And we will see globally the picture of the levels and the differences in sexes among the teachers at that subsystem of education.

The fourth chapter will present some majors factors that contribute to the gender disparity in HE: education factors; public policy factors; economic factors and social demographic factors.

The fifth chapter in this chapter we want to do some policy recommendations to the Government and policy makers because we intended that adequately policies can help to bridge or balance the gender imbalance. We also make an approach of the view of scholars about the trend that is happening in the higher education, but will give special attention to the vision of the students and their perceptions about the change and the expectations that they have for the future. The student expectations

will be around issues as marriage, work and raising children that resulted from the interviewed of the students.

The last chapter (six) will show some limitations about the study and will be also the place where we are going to make conclusions drawn from the research.

## 1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY

Cape Verde is one of the small island developing states, characterized by isolation, vulnerability to natural disasters, scarce soil and subsoil resources, recurrence of drought, fairly small market size and a huge opening to the outside world. The territory was founded uninhabited in 1460 by Portuguese navigators. The Republic of Cape Verde is an archipelago with 4033 square kilometers in the mid-Atlantic Ocean situated in the Sahelian belt off the coast of Senegal in Western Africa. The country is Catholic and a former colony of Portugal from whom they took independence in 1975. The Cape Verdean people were born from the encounter of different forms of civilization (Portuguese and different African ethnics groups) in the slavery period. The official language is Portuguese used in formal space as education and official statements, but in the daily life all kinds of people usually speak Cape Verdean Creole.

The population is around five hundred thousand (500.000<sup>16</sup>) scattered in nine inhabitants of the 10 islands. The Cape Verdean culture is a product of the encounter of the Portuguese and different Africans. One important

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<sup>16</sup> The 2010 Census says that the differences among sexes are 50.5% of population is female (248280 women) and 49.5% is male (243403 men).

characteristic of the country is the emigration that happened since the nineteenth century due to the abandonment of the islands by Portugal and cycles of scarce rain which caused famine. As a result of the emigration, now there is more Cape Verdean population living abroad than within the country. The emigration has a huge influence on the daily life of the country due to the remittance that represent more than 10% of the GDP, not to mention their importance in the participation in national elections<sup>17</sup> which helps to sustain democracy and accountability in government.

Cape Verde ranks among the world's most stable democracies<sup>18</sup>, receiving high marks for good governance, political stability, civil liberties and freedom of speech. Cape Verde's biggest strengths are its vast maritime resources, its endless renewable energy resources, its tourist-friendly climate and its durable social peace and political stability. The big challenge of the country is the high rate of structural unemployment of their youth and more self-reliance in the development process. In 2014, unemployment<sup>19</sup> among women was 15.2% and among men was 16.3%. The population growth rates remain since 2011 with the same amount (1.2%) annually.

Cape Verde is a small developing country that has been facing since independence great achievements essentially in the Education sector. Despite the initial difficulties, the country could reach seven of the eight Millennium Development Goals. The only objective that the country could not reach is related with ensuring environmental sustainability which is very difficult to

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<sup>17</sup> For example in the presidential elections in 2001 one candidate had more vote in the country (almost 2000) than in the emigration, but because he lost mostly of the vote in the emigration he lost the election.

<sup>18</sup> The Economist Unit of 2014 put the country in the place 31 of 167 countries in the democracy index

<sup>19</sup> INE - Annual Report yearbook (2015) available online <http://www.ine.cv/anuarios/Anuario CV 2015.pdf>

a country with the natural features as Cape Verde (Sahara Desert influence). In line with this natural feature, the economic base of the country is more service oriented<sup>20</sup> with a GDP distribution<sup>21</sup> of 63.8 % to the tertiary sector, 8.0 % to the primary sector and 16.2 % to the secondary sector. The dominance of the tertiary sector is due essentially to the strong performance of tourism, which has, directly and indirectly, fueled the growth of sectors such as transport, construction, banking and insurance. The GDP per Capita of the country is estimated in 3.450 per dollar<sup>22</sup>.

Thanks to the relatively good economic and health performance the conditions of life have been improving and this make that for the last year the life expectancy for men was 69.7 years while for the women was 79.9 years, indicating a difference of 10 years. The life expectancy of Cape Verdeans at birth is 74.5 years<sup>23</sup>.

The compulsory Education is 10 years but the expected is 12 years. The education is not free but for the basic education until eight years the amount of money paid is more symbolic and is equal to everyone. To assure some equality since middle 90's the government created a foundation that fostered free meals at basic and secondary education. In the basic level the meals are for every student but in the secondary the meals and support in transportations are for the needy. In terms of qualification of teachers of basic education, 7.91% still lack training. The literacy rates for the adult population

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<sup>20</sup> ibid

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> World Bank DATA online accessed in 31 December 2015

<sup>23</sup> Source: Census 2010

are now around 86.5%. At the rate of literacy was 86.5% in general and specifically, men showed a rate of 91% and women of 82%<sup>24</sup>.

The national currency is escudo which is pledged to the Euro<sup>25</sup> with a fixed value since 2002. The country was moved in 2004 from the least developed countries to the lower middle income countries due to the efficient economic and social policy strategies. The country is not industrialized and the development of the economy relies on foreign investment, aid and tourism.

## CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In Africa, enrollment in tertiary education grew faster in sub-Saharan Africa than any other region over the last four decades. While there were fewer than 200,000 tertiary students enrolled in the region in 1970, this number soared to over 4.5 million in 2008 – a more than 20-fold increase<sup>26</sup>.

Cape Verde has attended in the last 10 years to a great expansion of access and frequency of HE, an expansion that has resulted in a considerable increase in the number of enrolled students having the country in the past of 717 students in 2000/01, to the 11 769, in 2010/11. Between the dates in comparison, there was a growth of 1541% order, occurred at a pace of 32.3% annually<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> 2015 - Annual Report of National Statistical Institute of Cape Verde

<sup>25</sup> 1 EUR = 110.2650 CVE

<sup>26</sup> UNESCO data: TRENDS IN TERTIARY EDUCATION: SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA available online in <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/fs10-trends-tertiary-education-sub-saharan-africa-2010-en.pdf>

<sup>27</sup> In the 2011/2012 Annual Report of the Minister of Higher education Science and Innovation, Praia

The expansion of higher education creates available space for women to fill, scholars have hypothesized that declining discrimination, economic restructuring, and the transformation of women's roles contributed to the advances women made in educational attainment. The truth is that HE system in Cape Verde, on the contrary of other countries of the west coast region, is facing a reversal of gender inequality in enrollment with the number of women outnumber men. In sub-Saharan Africa just Mauritius, Namibia and Cape Verde have more enrollment of girls than boys in higher education. Cape Verde seems to follow international trends. Most studies about this international trend are related to the developed countries or to countries with a certain history with the HE institutions, what is not the case of this country. Some scholars are giving some insights about the possible reasons that are contributing to this change. We highlight some scholars that have been working on this issue below.

Mcdaniel (2007) shows that girls academic expectations have risen faster than boys internationally. In another study (Mcdaniel, 2010), she also finds that young girls' educational expectations are influenced by the overall gender ideology in their country. In more gender egalitarian countries, girls are more likely to expect to attain a tertiary degree than boys compared to less egalitarian countries. As larger changes occur in society that affect women, including a rising proportion of women in the labor market, lower fertility rates, and higher divorce rates, women's decisions about their education and futures should be affected.

DiPrete and Buchman (2006) argue that having a tertiary degree provides women with a higher probability of getting married and staying married, ensures a higher family standard of living, and a greater assurance against

poverty compared to men. For Chiao-Ling (2012) “The overrepresentation of Women in HE reflect changing values and attitudes related to the role and aspirations of women in society that are the legacy of social change and feminist movements which emerge globally in the 1960s and 1970’s. “ We agree to the thought of these scholars that the changes are broad and we believe in Charles in their perspective about a top down process.

According to Charles (2011) there are several contradictory theories regarding evolutionary change and regarding equality of the sexes. Neo-institutionalist theorists maintain that there is a top-down process of institutional diffusion and global cultural change. Equalitarian change is a global phenomenon driven by changing world cultural norms. International institutions, such as UNESCO and the World Bank, establish the rules and standards and poor countries, regarding access to education, imitate advanced western countries, thus gaining legitimacy.

Declining discrimination against women contributed to women’s advancement in college graduation in several ways (Buchman and DiPrete 2006). In the case of the Cape Verdean society, the change starts with independence, fostered with the creation of OMCV and the measures set up by their advocacy as we exemplify in this work. It’s clear that the changes are not equal for women from urban areas in comparison with women from rural areas. But the improvement for both locations is huge.

Daughters did not historically have equal access to parental resources, but as discrimination against women declined, parental investments in children changed and parents shifted family resources toward girls and now more equally invest in their daughters and sons (Buchman and DiPrete 2006). This vision is shared by another scholar that said the following.

The decline in discrimination against girls within families is another important sociological change which explains the rise in female participation. Feminism and the decline in gender stereotypes in society (Scott, 2006), and in education in particular, changed the attitude of parents towards the education of their daughters. In this research none of interviewers believe with a possible discrimination of parents towards the educations of their daughters or sons.

The gradual disappearance of legal or tacit discrimination has encouraged women to study more. The abolition of this form of discrimination gave an added incentive to women to enter into higher education (Goldin, Katz and Kuziemko, 2006).

The changes in demographic behavior and policies of legalized contraception help to explain the rise in female participation in higher education in the last century for some countries as U.S. In the United States, studies show that the introduction of oral contraception in 1960 is one of the demographic factors which can explain the growing participation of women in higher education (Goldin and Katz, 2002).

As women married at older ages, they needed to be able to provide for themselves during the time between when they left their parent's house and got married, thus encouraging educational attainment (DiPrete and Buchmann 2006). This change in the age of marriage increase generally in Cape Verde, a situation better explained in the next chapter. Additionally, this change somehow influence the educational attainment for girls more than boys.



A college degree represented a form of insurance against poverty and so women also pursued higher education to ensure against income deprivation (DiPrete and Buchmann 2006). This view is generally shared by the respondents of this research as scholars, teachers of secondary school, students or people with some responsibilities in an organization that works with gender issues.

Many available jobs required a college degree and so influenced women's decisions to pursue college (Goldin et al. 2006). The wage return to education is generally considered to be a key benefit of higher education and many contributions discuss whether its level and development explain the trend of the gender gap in educational attainment (e.g., Hubbard 2011).

Becker et al. (2010) consider the female advantage in the total cost of education to be central to the reversal of the gender education gap. Particularly in lower incidence of behavioral problems, and the smaller variance in the distribution of con-cognitive skills render the female supply of college educated labor more elastic than that of males.

The gender education gap reversed most clearly in favor of females in disadvantaged circumstances, e.g., with many siblings, in single parent households, with fathers of low occupational status and with parents of low educational attainment or catholic belief. This matches the findings for the U.S. presented by Goldin et. al (2006).

Buchmann and DiPrete (2006) point to the decline of male educational attainment in situations of absent fathers or of fathers with little education or low occupational status. These authors view the declining rate of male

college completion in the U.S. as an important determinant of the educational gender gap reversal.

Scholars show by studies made in U.S. (Buchmann and DiPrete, 2006) that the higher the parents' level of education, the more open minded they are to women in the workplace and the greater the chances of their sons and daughters of participating on an equal-footing in higher education.

Another factor which might explain the difference in the rate of participation and award degrees between boys and girls lies in the different roles played by peer groups for girls and boys during adolescence. It is not only their parents or siblings who influence young people but also their peers, their friends and potential friends (Coleman, 1961).

Apparently, girls' responses are even stronger if the milieu has pronounced gender stereotypes (Correll, 2001). In the case of reversal gender inequalities, this differentiated impact of peer groups could explain.

Furthermore, the academic and professional aspirations of girls are higher than those of boys in almost all countries and have grown faster in recent decades.

The overall tendency has been in most countries a predominance of women, both as students and faculty, in education, social sciences, and in humanities (Lie & Malik, 1994). In Cape Verde, the predominance in the number of students is clear in the secondary and tertiary. In Cape Verde the number of male teachers are predominant in these two level with a decreasing tendency as we will see further.

Insofar as the inequalities to the detriment of women in higher education reflected and prevention on the reduction in social inequalities disadvantaging women, they were not necessarily symmetrical with inequalities to the detriment of men. It is possible to be in a dominant position without being numerically in the majority (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

In the perspective of Iolanda Évora (2012), the introduction of gender issues in the Cape Verdean society resulted of Public Policy and moreover a special struggle that the Cape Verdean women did for their rights. The policies seem to follow the international trend in this matter and the top down decision referred above by Charles (2010).

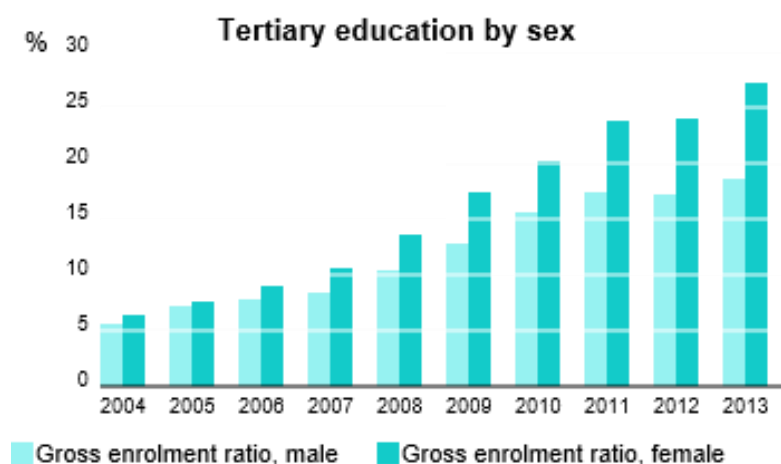
In the last ten years the Cape Verdean scholars have been doing a lot of studies about the gender gap in politics, economics and in work. The common point that they have is about the inequalities between men and women with an advantage toward men. Besides that, gender issues are often debated on national television, but it seems that the trend is to create a more egalitarian society since the debate is becoming focused to more opportunities in politics and in the need of more responsibilities in parenthood by Cape Verdean fathers<sup>28</sup>. For example Iolanda Évora in the presentation of the book *Women in Cape Verde* said, "It is also difficult because there is still a lot to promote the emancipation, but we're at a point (almost a crossroads) in which, from my point of view, it is not possible to develop a truly useful perspective to the Cape Verdean society of today if it is exceeded the hegemony of women's studies and propose the investigation

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<sup>28</sup> Since 2013 the National Commission of Human Rights and Citizenship has a campaign to remind the society about the importance of a father in taking care of their children and raising them. The estimates data from National Bureau of Statistics is that 8% of Cape Verdean children don't have the name of their fathers in their identification documents.

of masculinity” or studies of masculine space”<sup>29</sup>. We agree with Évora and reinforce with Rudberg (2012) when he said the changes supported by international and local organizations can result in a blurring of boundaries between genders of everyday life. That is happening in the country if we look smoothly on the daily life of the entire society as we said before. With this study, we want to show that the debate in the public space about gender can continue to be done but of course looking for a new space or way of interaction between the two sexes, or looking for new problems that emerge with more pro-egalitarian society.

The available data from UNESCO shows us that Cape Verde started having inequalities in the enrollment of women to the detriment of men in the higher education institutions since 2004, increasing year after year. But through the research we see that this phenomenon starts a little earlier concretely from 2000.



Source: UNESCO DATA<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> That book was published in 2012 and tried to resume all the research that have been done for cape Verdean scholars having as topic women in their multiple aspects.

<sup>30</sup> Available online in <http://www.uis.unesco.org/DataCentre/Pages/country-profile.aspx?code=CPV>

## 2.1 WOMEN IN CAPE VERDE (THE EMPOWERING STRUGGLE)

One of the eight Millennium Development Goals established by United Nations in 2000 was to close the gender gap in education and promote the autonomy of women. Cape Verde could fulfill partially this objective (essentially in education), since the beginning of the XXI's century started from that period the struggle to diminishing the gender gap in others spheres of the society. For a country with slavery past as Cape Verde, the condition and status of women were very low in all aspects of life (sociocultural, political, and economical) at the time of independence.

But for Silva<sup>31</sup> (2013) the historical heritages still persist in our society: the Cape Verdean family suffers from "matrifocality", but also accompanied by an idealization of conjugality, marked by the legacy of European families, but also by the Judeo-Christian influence. At the same occasions he referred that among the slaves, due to mobility, relations were short lived and the women had children of various partners and they were responsible for their offspring, taking out completely the figure of the father of family relationships.

This kind of legacies can partly explain the high rate of single-parents family with women as a head of a family. But in some way, that culture still allows the domain of the males in Cape Verdean society. A big example was showed from data of the 2000 Census by the same scholar referred above.

For Silva (2004) with statistics showing that 80% of Cape Verdean children were born out of wedlock or a stable relationship, the political elite will provide speeches where they act surprised by this knowledge. Such speeches

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<sup>31</sup> Public speech in the Forum "The challenges of responsible parenthood in Cape Verde" happened in March 2013 in the launched of a campaign: *Ami é Pai*.

are fictions to disguise the truth of a family where reigns a profound lack of paternal responsibility. In this phenomenon, there grows a new family structure where the woman is the head of the home or the bread winner instead of the nuclear family where the man was the head. Furthermore, because of the father's sexual freedom, this new phenomenon becomes a norm, overriding the social responsibility factor. Faced with the tense dilemma between sexual freedom and educational responsibility, our popular culture sacrificed the educational responsibility.

The cultural aspect influences other features of the relationships between the two sexes. For the Cape Verdean President Jorge Carlos Fonseca, "The biggest obstacles lie in the complex cultural context. Our culture is quite impregnated permanently reproduced representations and that of apparently normal and very subtle way, tend to perpetuate this asymmetric and unfair gender relationship"<sup>32</sup>.

To help to improve gender relationship we will find that the President of the country, Jorge Carlos Fonseca, is involved in different campaigns<sup>33</sup> to struggle against gender discrimination as well as in gender based violence. Still in politics we will find the Prime-Minister, Jose Maria Neves, is always proud of saying that we have a government with parity. But several studies (Évora: 2012, Costa: 2012) show that in legislative power and municipalities<sup>34</sup> (are still lower than the required for the International organization) we have a situation of inequality in access to power for women and they say that the

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<sup>32</sup> This view was shared as a part of an speech in the beginning of another campaign to help against gender based violence and it is available online <http://24.sapo.pt/article/lusa-sapo-pt-2015-11-25-635240817-maior-obstaculo-a-igualdade-de-genero-em-cabo-verde-e-cultural--diz-pr>

<sup>33</sup> He for She is one of the several campaign that the president is directly involved with a goal to join young boys and men in the struggle against gender based violence.

<sup>34</sup> The total members of parliament women are 23.6 percent of the 72 deputies. In the Municipalities from 22 municipalities just one president is woman.

impact of that measure from the Prime-Minister could be delusive as it is a step based on the wish of a single man and not represents the reality of other institutions.

The parliament approved a few years ago a special law to help fighting the level of gender based violence<sup>35</sup>. For UNWOMEN in the country, this law is changing the social behavior because it's reshaping the traditional view of a relation among sexes (in spirit of this law GBV is thus all the violence that is based, not in biology, not from couples but in unequal power relations).

The political and institutional engagement of the country to the cause of gender equality can be seen in several measures from the election of the president of the Supreme Court and the president of the Superior Council of the Judiciary (both presidents being female). In a table below we will see that the engagement is not as full as seems:

**Table 2 - Women's Participation in Decision Bodies (2011)**

Power Areas		Total	Male		Female	
			Nº	%	Nº	%
<b>Government</b>	Ministries	16	9	52.9	8	47.1
<b>Nacional Parliament</b>	Members of Parliament	72	57	79.2	15	20.8
<b>Judicial</b>	Members of the Supreme Court	7	4	57.1	3	42.9
	Attorneys	27	18	66.7	9	33.3
<b>Municipal Government</b>	Mayors	22	20	90.9	2	9.1
	Councilors of Municipal Councils	118	91	83.1	27	22.9

Source: Women and Men in Cape Verde: Numbers and Facts (2012)

In Cape Verde it's prohibited by constitution and civil code to have any kind of discrimination in wage because of gender. The first Lady, Lúcia Fonseca,

<sup>35</sup> Law No. 84 / VII / 11 -

recently spoke<sup>36</sup> about the wage gap between the two sexes. Other Law (Work Code) that can be seen as an important support to the women on the legislation field is the case of the maternity license. With this law<sup>37</sup>, a woman in postpartum period have the right to stay at home with her newborn during the first two months receiving full salary. For the father (the paternity license) of a newborn, he only has five days to support the woman. Or, in case of death or sickness of the woman, he can benefit for the all aspects of the law.

In the same interview the first lady announced that will start soon in the country a program to incentivize girls to pursue careers in science fields namely in engineering and computer sciences.

In 2008, the public university created a center with a focus on studying Gender and Families (CIGEF) issues. This center has been fostering the studies of women's condition and contributed to the sharing of the knowledge in this area. Together with ICIEG, they denounce several situations of inequalities against women becoming a kind of academic support to this struggle.

In 2009, 14.0% of adolescents aged 15 to 19 were pregnant<sup>38</sup>. When a girl became pregnant and if she is studying (the most common case) the school normally makes pressure under that girl to leave the school and to cancel the registration. She can return next year without any punishment. This situation is considered very controversial, because the feminists believe that this can

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<sup>36</sup> Part of a interview conceded by Lgia Fonseca to a national Newspaper, Expresso das Ilhas, celebrating the Cape Verdean Women Day, ed. 748, March, 2016

<sup>37</sup> Decree-Law 5/2004 of 16 February

<sup>38</sup> UNDAF- QUADRO DE ASSISTNCIA DAS NAES UNIDAS PARA O DESENVOLVIMENTO DA REPUBLICA DE CABO VERDE 2012 – 2016 available online in [http://www.un.cv/files/UNDAF%20Cabo%20Verde%202012\\_2016.pdf](http://www.un.cv/files/UNDAF%20Cabo%20Verde%202012_2016.pdf)



cause the dropout of the girls from the system but for the leaders of the Ministry Education is a way to make the schools respectful spaces. Even though this assertion can be true, the reality is that dropouts are affecting more boys than girls as we will see further in this paper. If the responsible for that pregnancy is a colleague of the school, he didn't receive any punishment or warning.

The country has an Institute for gender Equity and gender Equality since 1994. Some municipalities have been working (since 2012) in budgets that have gender sensibility. Since 2010 Cape Verde has a network of men (White Ribbon Network) helping to fight the gender violence against women and they are very active in communities and mass media to show that it's possible to create a new relationship between the two sexes.

The country is ranked at the number fifty (50) in the last Global Gender Gap of the United Nations.

Besides all achievement in the struggle for gender equity and gender equality, on the social area we found that poverty especially affects women, heads of households (33%), with a higher incidence in rural areas (44%) compared to urban areas (13%)<sup>39</sup>. We found that the level of gender based violence remain high, just to exemplify in 2012 the growth of violence was 10% and the 90% percent of all cases it was related with that kind of violence, and more than 90% of the cases were against women. In our view, this can be a paradigmatic example of the dominium of the males in Cape Verdean society. Since the aggressor normally is the one who retain the power. It can be seen that women are now more reluctant to accept the domination of men.

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid

## CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION

### 3.1 HIGHER EDUCATION IN CAPE VERDE

Higher education as a public sphere in a given country is influenced by the general behavior and beliefs of that society. The gender categories and stereotypes as the concepts of male or female are intrinsic to that influence also.

For Bourdieu (1998), the division between the sexes seems to be "in the order of things" as it is sometimes said to refer to what is normal and natural, to the point of being inevitable (at home for example, with all its parts "sexed"), as in the social world, and incorporated state in the bodies and habits of their agents, which functions as systems, schemes or perspectives of both thought and action.

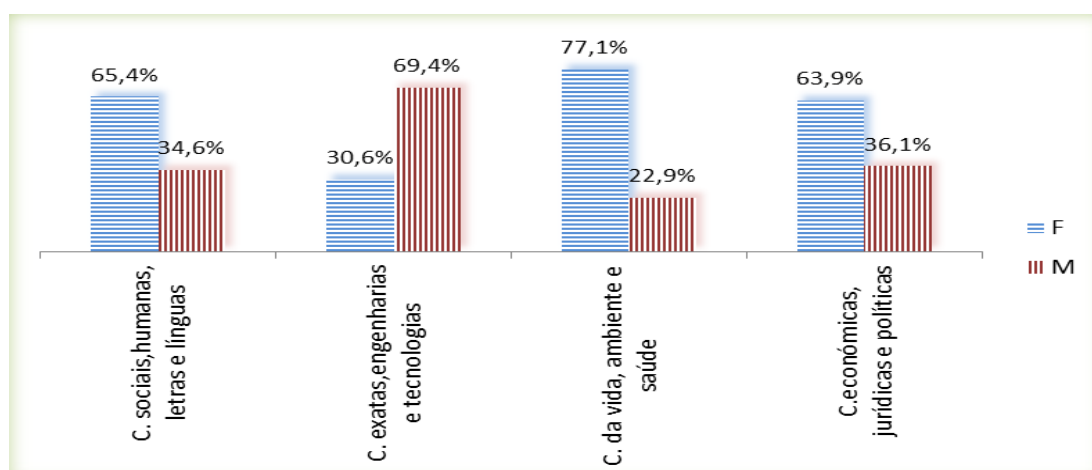
This reality is evident in the division of power and it is more or less clear in all living spaces (state, market, community and family) of a given society. This truth is inseparable of the constitution of a human being and it is also present in the higher education institutions. In all societies, academia is viewed as the most progressive institution as a key to the development of innovation and producer of knowledge, but it is greatly gender-based.

HE in Cape Verde, as in most parts of the world, is suffering the reversal of gender inequalities, both in participation and degree obtained but this doesn't mean that the choice of studies did not remain highly gender-based. The gender gap varies across fields of study. Although male enrollment is lower than female enrollment, males have concentrated in the fields of engineering and technology. Women are predominant in subjects relating to

education, teaching, health, economics and social sector (and are subsequently over represented in these professions) as we can see below:

Data available for the Ministry of Higher Education shows that 65.4% of the enrollment in the fields of social sciences, humanities, arts and languages are girls; in the area of the exact sciences, engineering and technology, 69.4 of those enrolled are male; in the field of life science, environment and health, 77.1% are girls and only 22.9% are boys; of those enrolled on the courses of economic, political and legal 63.9% are girls and only 22.9% are boys. This data shows that the only area that boys are majority is in the exact sciences and engineering, which happens in most of the developed countries. The table below shows that clearly.

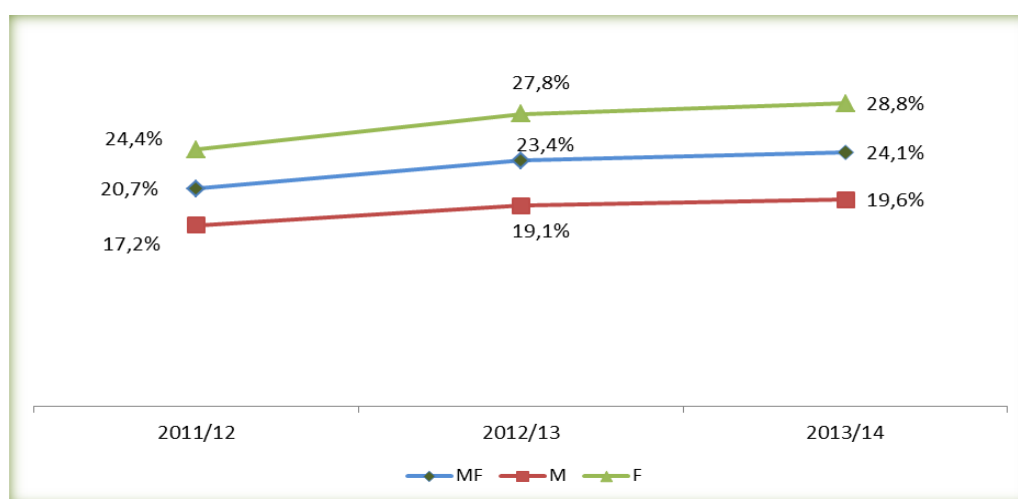
**Figure 2 – Students Enrolled by main Area and Gender**



Source: Annual Report 2013/14 (MESCI)

The gender disparity is not limited to fields of study, but it's also widening in the overall enrollment. The data from recent years show the evident favor towards girls. In terms of gender, girls have a considerable advantage over boys with a gross enrollment rate of 28.8% against 19.6% of boys as we can see on the figure below.

**Figure 3 - Gross Enrollment rate by Sex**



Source: Annual Report 2013/14 (MESCI)

Higher education in Cape Verde is structured in several levels and the sex distribution among them is also different. In that system, the lower level is vocational training (level 5) called CESP, and following this level, we will find Bachelor level, then License degree, Master's degree, and at the top, we have Doctorate. CESP is characterized by at maximum two years of vocational training after finishing High School with almost 40% of formation happening in the working context. This formation allows the students to continue their studies to get a License Degree in the same area. The bachelor level in the country consists of three formative years facing a specific activity such as training teachers to minister classes in basic education<sup>40</sup>. For the other levels, their features are the same as in most parts of the world. The predominance of girls is verified in most of the levels as we can see in the table below.

<sup>40</sup> Law nº 22 of 2012- System of Degrees and Diplomas of Higher education

**Table- 3 Proportion of Students' second Level and Gender at different levels by %**

Degree	Sex	
	M	F
<b>CESP</b>	59.1%	40.9%
<b>Bachelor Degree</b>	61.1%	38.9%
<b>Degree Complements</b>	40.4%	59.6%
<b>License Degree</b>	40.0%	60.0%
<b>Master</b>	54.4%	45.6%
<b>Doctorate</b>	50.0%	50.0%
<b>Total</b>	41.4%	58.6%

Source: Annual Report 2013/14 (MESCI)

From the table, we can see that in average, boys represent just 41.4% of all students of this subsystem of education, lagging behind in most of learning levels. At HE, the presence of boys is lower than in others subsystems of education. According to the feature above, boys are still predominant at the CESP (59.1%) in Bachelor Degree (61.1%) and at the Master level (54.4%), yet on the other hand, girls are majority at Degree Complements and at License Degree. Overall, there are more girls and they are closing the gap in the levels they were in disfavor.

Other trends that we can see from the data presented by MESCI (Annual reports) since 2012 include the higher propensity of girls to obtain degrees. In 2012, the number of girls who graduated was 67.8%. Based on the data found, in terms of gender, girls represent 66.0% of the university students who graduated in 2013.

A trend that seems to become permanent is the difference between the two sexes in the number of students. This trend is best explained in a table below.

**Table- 4 Predictions of the Number of Students in Higher Education (2016-2021)**

	<b>Number of Students in Higher Education expected for next years</b>		
<b>Years</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
2010/11	11769	5086	6683
2014/15	12538	5168	7370
<b>Growth in %</b>		0.4	2.5
2015/16	12741	5189	7553
2016/17	12949	5209	7740
2017/18	13162	5230	7931
2018/19	13379	5251	8128
2019/20	13601	5272	8329
<b>2020/21</b>	13829	5293	8535

Source: MESCI/ 2014

If we take the average annual growth recorded between 2010/11 and 2014/15. The projection was based on the average annual growth of 0.4% for students and 2.5% for female students.

**Table 5- HIGHER EDUCATION TEACHERS BY GENDER, LEVEL AND BY INSTITUTIONS % (2013/14)**

Institution	Degree												Total	
	Postdoc		PHD		Master		Postgraduate		License		Bachelor			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Uni-CV	100%	0%	65%	35%	61%	39%	63%	38%	59%	41%	100%	0%	61%	39%
Uni-Piaget			70%	30%	67%	33%			59%	41%			64%	36%
Uni-Mindelo			0%	100%	41%	59%	52%	48%	38%	63%			40%	60%
IUE			0%	100%	49%	51%	50%	50%	56%	44%			51%	49%
ISCEE			82%	18%	64%	36%	39%	61%	67%	33%			64%	36%
ISCJS			90%	10%	73%	27%	29%	71%	69%	31%			72%	28%
M_EIA			100%	0%	20%	80%			80%	20%			62%	38%
Lusófona			89%	11%	48%	52%	44%	56%	47%	53%			51%	49%
UNICA			60%	40%	55%	45%			50%	50%			52%	48%
US			71%	29%	65%	35%	76%	24%	72%	28%			68%	32%
Total (2013/14)	100%	0%	69%	31%	61%	39%	51%	49%	59%	41%	100%	0%	60%	40%
Total (2012/13)			74%	26%	61%	39%	62%	38%	60%	40%	100%	0%	62%	38%

Source: Annual Report 2013/14 (MESCI)

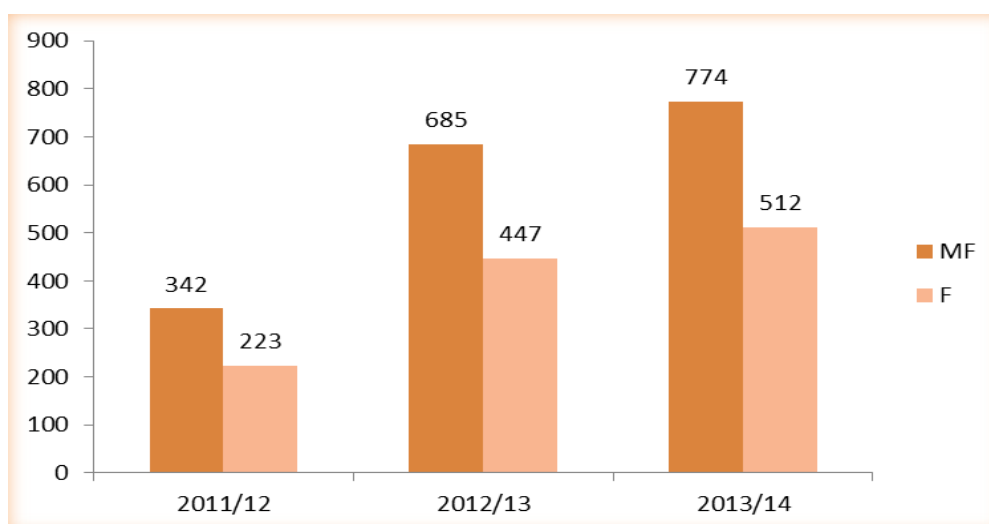
The table above shows the difference between sexes, and the difference in the levels of the teachers for the year 2013/14. According to data from MESCI (2014), during the school year 2013/14 the HE institutions worked with 1415 teachers, 848 in the private and 567 in the public. At that level, male teachers remain more than female teachers in the number and power. If we count the top leaders of the institutions, we will see that just two (Uni-CV and Uni-Lusofona) of them has a female leader. The higher the level (Master, Phd or Postdoc), the higher is the difference between the sexes. The improvement of the level of the teachers benefited the two sexes, but slightly favoring the females.

## CHAPTER 4: FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO GENDER INEQUALITY

### 4.1 PUBLIC POLICY FACTORS

Other important elements of difference among the number of students in HE are the numbers of scholarships attributed by the government to the two different sexes. Scholarships have been considered as an important tool in controlling the growth of the system (World Bank 2011). According to Annual Report of MESCI (2013/14) girls have been benefiting from more scholarships of the government than boys. We highlighted below in a figure the trend for the last years that the data are available in this sphere:

**Figure 4 – Government Scholarships by Sex (2011-2014)**



Source: Annual Report 2013/14 (MESCI)

Analyzing the image above, we see that the differences among the new scholarships offered by the government to the students are increasing. The bad news is that the measure has a gender gap and the gender gap is favoring girls. If in the year 2011/12 the differences between the number of scholarships among boys and girls were 119, the number increased to 238 and 262 in the following years. For the year before, showed in (2010/11) the



feature, the distribution, in percent, among gender was the same with girls getting 356 scholarships and boys' 192 scholarships. Girls are having almost double of the government scholarships than boys. Apparently, we didn't see any change in the system that justifies this kind of discrimination in this process. Unless these numbers are a clear public choice in the attribution of the scholarships, we couldn't get any explanation about this apparent discrimination. From the total amount of scholarships delivered for the year 2013/14, girls received 66.0% and boys 34.0%. This trend in scholarship distribution was happening since 2006. In my point of view, these actions are favoring girls in detriment of boys. It is incomprehensible if as decision makers, the managers of the ministry should know the underachievement that the boys are suffering and the decision remains the same year after year. The better marks of girls cannot justify at least eight years followed of unequal distribution of resources for the two sexes. The difficulties of the boys at the education system are enormous as we can see with more details in the following lines.

In Cape Verde we can not say that the losers of the patriarchal academic system are still women. They make a big number of the student populations, they are increasing their presence in higher cycles and leading positions and they are getting more degree in highest levels.

#### 4.2: EDUCATIONAL FACTORS: DIFFERENCES IN ATTAINMENT IN EDUCATION AT OTHERS LEVELS

The Cape Verdean system of education is established in preschool (kindergarten), basic education, secondary education and tertiary education

or higher education. The basic and secondary education has a duration of six years each. Normally, it was expected that boys and girls could have great equalitarianism in education since they share the same homes and the same opportunities in Cape Verde for those two levels of education. Table 2 shows that the success rate between the two groups is different from the basic education and it continues in the secondary level.

**Table 6 - Failure rate by level of education (Basic and Secondary) and sex (2010-2014)**

Years	Basic Education			Secondary Education		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2009/10	10.5	12.8	8	24.9	27.4	22.7
2010/11	10.3	12.4	8	25.2	27.1	23.5
2011/12	9.8	11.9	7.5	25.6	28.5	22.9
2012/13	9.3	11.4	6.9	24.7	27.4	22.3
<b>2013/14 Cape Verde</b>	8.6	10.8	6.2	24.0	27.1	21.2

Source: Statistical Yearbook 2015 (INE)

The data above shows that, regarding the failure rate, decreasing from 24.9% in 2010 to 24% in 2014, the failure rate in the secondary is still a high value. The failure in secondary education affected more boys, which had a rate of 27.1% than girls (21.1%). In primary education around 8.6% reproved. The failure happens more among boys (10.8%) than among girls (6.2%). The data shows a slight improvement, but the numbers are high.

Another important element of analysis could be the level of the drop out generally in those levels.

**Table 7 - Abandonment rate by level of education and sex % (2010-2014)**

Years	Basic Education			Secondary Education		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2009/10	1.7	1.9	1.5	7.8	9.0	6.8
2010/11	1.7	2.0	1.4	7.3	8.7	6.1
2011/12	1.6	2.0	1.3	6.9	8.2	5.7
2012/13	1.6	1.9	1.3	7.4	8.8	6.1
<b>2013/14 Cape Verde</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>4.8</b>

Source: Statistical Yearbook 2015 (INE)

According to INE in 2014, the rate of drop out in basic education was 1.1%, a value that is 0.6 percentage points lower than what was verified in 2010. The drop out has greater occurrence among the male individuals in both basic education as in secondary education. The rate of abandonment recorded in secondary education was 5.8% in general and boys presented a rate (6.9%) slightly superior to girls (4.8%). Note that there was, in 2014, a reduction of about 2 percentage points in the rate of abandonment in secondary education, when compared with the values of 2010.

This data calls to the attention that boys are clearly lagging behind in those levels. Their achievement levels are lower than girls at basic education as well at the secondary.

In the table below, we want to understand if the difference between the sexes of the teachers can in some way influence the success rate of both sexes.

**Table 8 - Staff (students and teachers) per level (Basic and Secondary),  
2010-2011**

Levels of Education	Students				Teachers			
	Total	Male	Female	%F	Total	Male	Female	%F
Basic Education	69.115	35.990	33.125	47.9%	2.972	972	2.000	67.3%
Public	68.749	35.796	32.953	47.9%	2.954	965	1.989	67.3%
Private	366	194	172	47.0%	18	7	11	61.1%
Public Sec. Education	53.691	25.280	28.411	52.9%	2.787	1.560	1.227	44.0%
Private	8.531	3.420	5.111	59.9%	827	558	269	32.5%

Source: Annual Report MED (2010/11)

From the data, we can see that in the basic education, the number of boys (35.990) enrolled are more than girls (33.125). This can be explained by the approval rate of girls that is higher than the boys and because at the first age of schooling the number of boys are higher due to the ratio of masculinity at birth. At the secondary level, girls (28.411) outnumber boys (25.280) in public institutions. At private institutions the number of girls (5.111) is more than boys (3.420). The influences of female teachers in the success of girls can be true at the basic where they are predominant (67.3%), but cannot explain the difference at the secondary level where the female teachers represents only 44.0% of the global number. At this level, boys still do worse than girls with a failure rate difference of 5.9 percent in a total of 27.1%. The influence of the sex of the teachers as role models doesn't seem to have special impact on boys.

The table below confirms the concern that there is little change in the trend that is generally happening in our education system. The actions that the

government has been taking to improve the learning conditions didn't make any substantial differences in the achievement among the two sexes.

**Table 9- Staff (students and teachers) per level (Basic and Secondary), 2013-2014**

Levels of Education	Students				Teachers			
	Total	Male	Female	%F	Total	Male	Female	%F
Basic Education	65.954	34.395	31.559	47.9%	2.965	955	2.010	67.8%
Public	65.373	34.100	31.271	47.8%	2.933	944	1.989	67.8%
Private	581	293	288	49.6%	32	11	21	65.6%
Public Sec. Education	52.427	24.966	27.461	52.4%	2.989	1.636	1.353	45.3%
Private	5.604	2.438	3.166	56.5%	579	451	178	30.7%

Source: Annual Report 2013/14 (MED)

In comparison, between the years 2010/11 with 2013/14, we will see that the growth of female teachers is increasing at the two levels. Other important information that we can take from the utter table is that the difference of girls in the secondary show us almost 2500 girls in that level compared to boys. This situation is worsening if we count that in primary school the boys outnumber girls by almost 3000 individuals. Other information that we can take from the table is that in general, if we add the two subsystems we will find that the number of female teachers (3541) surpass the number of male teachers (3042). From the comparison between the two tables, we can see that the number of students is decreasing. That helps to explain the downsizing of the number of students that entered in HE if we compare with the four or five years ago. These are results of the diminishing fertility rates in the country as we referred before.

Other data that we found in the annual reports in comparison are the difference between the number of boys and girls in the last year of the secondary level. In 2010/11, with the total of 5383 students, more than half were girls (3000), boys made up the rest. The differences were 617 more girls than boys. For 2013/14, the numbers are slightly different but with the same trend with 659 more girls from the total of 6083 students in the last year of the secondary. At that year, the numbers of boys were 2712 and the numbers of girls were 3371.

Boys are leaving the educational system before reaching the HE compared to girls, who complete their secondary education.

The teachers of the secondary education in Cape Verde interviewed for this research said that girls are generally more motivated, organized and they behave better than boys. They said that girls have better marks at school (which can be viewed as indicators of behavior rather than attitude), and in their perspective, the difference can be as a result of the control that families have on the girls in comparison to the boys. The different way our culture raise a boy gives them a more sense of freedom, since most of their time is spent outside, compared to the girls who are kept inside and 'over-protected', leading to, in my point of view, another factor that prejudices the boys' achievement in education.

We think that teachers could in fact favor girls, perhaps because of their better behavior in school helping them more when they're in any difficulty.

#### 4.3. SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

In the social field, the decline of discrimination in the labor market is a reality. In the past, we'd hear our grandmother saying that they were unable to attend school because of the belief of her parents that girls didn't need to go to school and that they would learn how to write letters to their boyfriend, since this was the way people of that time communicated. This phrase nowadays seems like a myth for most of the Cape Verdean people. But the truth is that the general increase in the level of education of population has thus led to a decline in gender inequalities.

From the interviews, to the teachers of the secondary level, to the students and for the data, we couldn't find any reasons to believe that families are investing more in girls than in boys to succeed in HE. What we do know from the interviews is that families with best educated parents are more collaborative in terms of directly contributing to the success of the school. These actions indirectly benefit their daughters and sons. Other information that we got is that competition between girls to have better scores is becoming more common, which will help them to get scholarships because the first criterion on attribution is the scores they got in the last years of the secondary level.

Single parent families headed by women is a common feature since the settlement of the islands. Women had to work hard to provide food and all conditions to survive of their family. This characteristic (hard work woman as a legacy) as a parental model can be beneficial to girls in comparison with boys. These are similar to the view presented by Goldin et al. referred in the literature review.

#### 4.4. ECONOMIC FACTORS

The economic characteristic of Cape Verde is to be service oriented. For the last five years, the economic growth have been low than 3%. Cape Verde is now facing a big unemployment of youth with degree diploma. The estimates data from the INE (2014) are that around six thousand (6000) graduates are unemployed. This factor pushes boys to other careers in the police force or into the army, where the salary is agreeable with no degree requirements, but the truth is, there is still high competition for these professions.

This period of economic uncertainty are making boys look for a job more than investing in their studies. One survey<sup>41</sup> made by INE (2013) about Child labor gives to us some clue in that direction.

In Cape Verde, child labor particularly affects more boys than girls. The numbers show that the highest concentration of activities outside the house occurs in the age range of 15-17 years, an occupancy rate of 68.8%. For children occupied, it is observed that the percentage of boys pursuing economic activity is greater than the percentage of girls (9.6% from 6.3% respectively). This means that almost 10% of boys in that age are pursuing income instead of investing in their studies.

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<sup>41</sup> Survey continuous multi-objective 2013: Child labor in Cape Verde by INE available online at [http://www.ine.cv/actualise/publicacao/files/784341132292015O%20Trabalho%20Infantil%20em%20Cabo%20Verde%20\(Vers%C3%A3o%20Portuguesa\).pdf](http://www.ine.cv/actualise/publicacao/files/784341132292015O%20Trabalho%20Infantil%20em%20Cabo%20Verde%20(Vers%C3%A3o%20Portuguesa).pdf)



#### 4.5. DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

In Cape Verde, policies related with reproduction (legalized contraception, family planning and mother and child programs and care centers) initiated in the 80's show that the average number of births decrease continuously since the 90's: in 1990, on average, women had 5.5 children, while in 2010, this figure rose to 2.6 on average, about 3 children less than in 1990<sup>42</sup>.

However, early fertility is a reality and according to INE<sup>43</sup>, a relatively high rate, about 14 per cent of girls 15/19 years, already has a son, and approximately 20 percent of 25/29 with two children. With the diminution of the children to each family, the investment in education and getting a degree became a realistic goal. In Cape Verde, family size affects boys more than girls since the trend shows that the larger the family, the poorer they are. Usually, the children who are out of school from the age of 14 up to 17 are boys coming from underprivileged classes<sup>44</sup>.

Analyzing the data, we assume that when most of the women are married, they have at least one child. The table below shows that when the Cape Verdean woman is married, most of them are finishing the period of higher fecundity.

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<sup>42</sup> Women and men in Cape Verde facts and numbers 2012.....

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem

**Table 10- Average age and median age at marriage, 2000-2011**

Years	Average Age		Median Age	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
2000	30.6	35.8	29.0	33.0
2001	32.1	37.8	31.0	35.0
2002	32.0	37.8	30.0	36.0
2003	32.9	38.3	31.0	36.0
2004	33.4	38.1	31.0	36.0
2005	33.0	39.0	30.5	36.0
2006	33.1	38.7	31.1	36.0
2007	33.9	39.2	32.0	37.0
2008	33.7	38.9	32.0	37.0
2009	33.9	38.6	32.0	37.0
2010	34.6	39.4	32.0	37.0
2011	33.7	38.3	31.0	36.0

Source: Annual Yearbook 2015, INE

According to the data from the Census, the de facto union became the most common family organization. This change is clear for the table below and shows to us a constant increase in that way of organizing a family in the country. The divorce rate difference among the sexes in the country is small but the growth is affecting more women than men.

**Table 11 - Population 12 and over by marital status (%) 1990 to 2010**

Years	Single		Married		Union		Separ./Div.		Widow	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
<b>1990</b>	49.0	52.0	28.0	29.0	16.0	18.0	1.0	1.0	6.0	1.0
<b>2000</b>	51.0	58.0	17.0	17.0	23.0	22.0	4.0	2.0	6.0	1.0
<b>2010</b>	46.7	55.6	13.6	13.5	28.7	25.8	6.7	3.9	4.0	0.7

Source: Census 1990-2010, Annual Yearbook of INE (2015)

The increased participation in education of women is commonly accepted as a result of the legalized and free contraception methods in the country, but the later marriage and delay on the first birth are not correlated in the country.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS, VIEWS OF CAPEVERDEAN SCHOLARS AND STUDENT'S BELIEFS AND EXPECTATIONS**

### **5.1 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

The gender inequalities in most society have become one issue of debate and struggle. This question brings more worries when it happens in the education field, which is transversal to any other field. To address the inequalities, the best has always been through public policies established by the governments. In the case of this study we believe that the widening of the gender disparity should be enforced with several actions as:

- 1) Creation of a quota of 45% of Scholarship for both sexes and using the remaining 10% accordingly with the priorities settled for the development of the country (identifying some programs as Agricultures, Oceans, Engineering and Health). Abandoning the blind attribution of scholarships based primarily in the scores brought from the secondary schools.
- 2) It's necessary to create a movement lead by ICIEG that can make a better approach between the secondary schools and the families with a focus in the success rate. For those measures to become more efficient we think that teachers should be evaluated by the learning of the entire class and in that way ensure their own career success. It's necessary that the cape Verdean organizations that work with childhood and teenagers participate in the creation of measures to address the problem of abandonment rate.
- 3) There is an urgent need to downsize the abandonment rate in the secondary schools in general with more focus in boys transforming

the secondary school spaces by giving to them a set of competitive actions more suitable for boys. Such as competition in sports, knowledges, languages and in teaching of the sciences.

- 4) Another recommendation is addressed to the government for the need to raise special programs towards boys (as scholarships in all levels) to finish the secondary school giving them an opportunity and a possibility to catch up to the girls.
- 5) The National plans of Gender Equality and Equity should say clearly that boys are lagging behind in terms of access and permanency in our education system and some goals should be established to diminish the situation and creating a balance between the sexes in education.
- 6) National sensitization programs about the gender disparity which favors boys in education can be put in place not just in the mass media but in the curriculum to create awareness in every sector of the education system.

## 5.2 SCHOLARS VIEWS OF THE PROBLEM

For the scholars, the cape Verdean society is clearly unequal in the differences between the sexes in the access of political power and to the top leadership in the government and politics. In these cases the imbalance is favoring men as we refer above. Some of them argue that the lack of effectiveness of some measures as quotas could improve the situation in those sectors but the lack of consensus led to a disagreement as to its institutionalization.

Most of scholars are aware about the inequalities which disfavor man in the access of sexual and reproductive health and in the education system. But in their opinion the inaction of the government institutions to answer the new

reality is a result of the struggles from the past when the disfavoring situation of women requested more support of the state. The organizations that usually work to address the gender struggles are not structured to act in different ways and the lack of will and resources (huge dependency of international funds to implement policies) are some of the major issues that contributed to the problems that are around gender inequalities. Asked about the consequences of the new reality in the education sector, the scholars interviewed by this research answered that the consequences can be diverse: for some of them the empowerment of the women are positive, for other scholars we will be confronted with the rising of new inequalities this time favoring women, that do not seem to be the most suitable to create an egalitarian society. Most of them agree that the consequences for the boys and men could be substantial, child labor, recruitment of these boys and young men to urban gangs, less able to enter the labor market and get only paid jobs, social and personal frustration with other consequences such as alcoholism, drug addiction and violence of gangs and Gender based violence.

### 5.3 STUDENT'S BELIEFS AND EXPECTATIONS

To better understand the changes that are happening, in HE, we asked students in this level concerning several issues about their marriage expectations, the decision to attend HE, the family investments in them regardless of the sex and their work expectations, just to name a few.

A frequently expressed wish from the students interviewed for this work is that the investment in HE will give them more autonomy and independence in their life, not just for their husband. For most of them, the status of having

a degree is important, but the most important thing is the knowledge they get from their studies. However, they shared that the main reason to get into universities is to have facilities to find a job and better salary in the future.

When we asked them about the possible reasons behind why more girls are enrolled in HE compared to boys, they said they believe that the reasons are several-fold: the change of mentality, in terms of gender equality makes the girls enroll more; the perspective of doing the works that men usually do (noble work) is also a factor of more female enrolment; and the higher dropout of boys in the secondary and the possibility that boys have to get another job with less years of schooling.

For the most part, the decision to enroll in HE generally was a personal one.

While the unemployment is higher between graduates, the students are still very confident and most of them believe they will find a job in the state or in the private sector. Less than half of them are thinking of opening their own businesses. It's important to say that, that view represents not just the students that are in the teaching areas, but it's generic to all areas of study.

The marriage expectations are more present in the girls with slightly more than half expected to be married in the near future. For boys, less than 1/3 are thinking about it and the age for that step is on average around 30 years. Almost eight years lower than the average. For girls, the age that they expected to be married is at 28 years on average, six years lower than the reality.

Interesting information that we took from the interviews is that the number of sons and daughters expected by boys and by girls is different. Boys aim to

have more kids than girls in average, one more without the differences of sex.

## **CHAPTER 6: LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION OF THIS RESEARCH**

### **6.1 LIMITATIONS**

This research has limitations due to the fact the time was very little to make a deeper approach around the problematic of gender in the country. Other limitations are results of the fact that the researcher couldn't do the interviews personally which is more suitable to a qualitative nature if the study.

The research happened in the national pre-elections period that didn't help at all because people were fed up with surveys and they didn't have enough patience to answer the questions. What was made out as a short interview became longer and annoying for the interviewed.



## 6.2 CONCLUSION OF THIS RESEARCH

So the picture of young women is decidedly mixed. Girls and young women are using education – first at secondary, then at tertiary level – as part of a strategy to improve their life chances.

Huge gender differences in the choices of subjects pursued in higher education, combined with powerful and persistent gender stereotypes in work places and along career paths, prevent women from reaping the full benefits of their higher education.

The research suggests that young women's achievement and successes in college has to be attributed to stronger motivation and harder work. Besides that, we could show that there are several other factors that influence the underachievement of the boys and fostered the enrollment of the girls.

In the research, we found that inequalities to the detriment of men can be explained by several factors as; general view of HE in the country; the difference in the behavior between the sexes; the difference in drop out rates between the sexes at the secondary level; the failure rate in the system; the way the families raise differently boys and girls giving to the former all the freedom and the latter all the responsibilities, the blind attribution of scholarships among the students without taking care of difference in the success rate between the two sexes and the propensity of women to study more than man. Utilizing the words of Carlos Veiga in other situation but that is very suitable for the current situation in terms of gender imbalance in education:

"We can have the best schools, the best manuals, best teachers, the best education system. But we do not have nothing (...) if the community is not

interested in your school and not part of her life, if parents are not interested in the education of their children ... if society does not take responsibility in the education of new generations. The unaccountability of society (...) is harmful and its effects are now apparent to many people. It is, moreover, unjust and immoral in an area as sensitive and important as education"<sup>45</sup>

In this situation the society is called to give attention to the most important factor of development mainly in a country not endowed with mineral resources. The ownership of the development process should be part of the struggle for gender issues in all aspects and this can not be as a scholar said "a hike to a new inequality", this time in favor of women, which did not sit well with the central axis of the introduction of gender in our country, which is the promotion of gender equality and equity and not just the promotion of women.

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<sup>45</sup> Session of the National Assembly (AO) - Closure of parliamentary debate on Education - Fifth Legislature. By Carlos Veiga ancient Prime-Minister of Cape Verde 1991 to 2000

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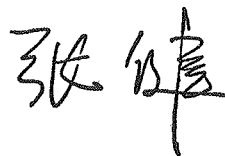
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